1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

KO'IKA U'UPUA

769 The third of the memorial festivals described by Père Pierre (4) was
776 the *ko'ika u'upua*, which was, according to this writer, a repetition of the *ko'ika vaihopu*, except for the feature of stilt walking. One informant at
[481 Atu Ona told me that sports, especially stilt walking, characterized particularly the *ko'ina u'upua*. Champions of different tribes challenged each
526] other, meeting in combat on the dance area and attempting to kill one another. These sports were considered very *tapu*, women not being allowed on the feast place until after they were finished. The manner of carrying on these contests is described under Games.

HARVEST FESTIVALS

796 The Harvest festival (*ko'ina tapavau*) was marked by a great feast and general rejoicing. It was celebrated after an abundant breadfruit harvest, when the breadfruit paste had all been put down in the pits. At Taiohae the festival was held in the seasons of *ehua* and *mataiki*, but practically nothing else regarding this important festival could be learned from modern informants. Stewart (26, p. 237) speaks of it as being one of the most important of the festivals on Nuku Hiva.

This was the chief one of the rites spoken of by Garcia (14, pp. 69-70) as recurring at fixed times. In his opinion the feasts of abundance were national rather than tribal, by which he means that they were times of rejoicing and thanksgiving in which many tribes, both friends and enemies, would join. These were celebrated in the autumn because that was the time of the great harvest. At the time of the *ko'ina tapavau* the usual *tapu* prohibiting women from eating certain foods was suspended and war was prohibited. Young warriors enlivened these festivals with volleys of musketry. On the feast place there was a great abundance of provisions—roasted hogs, canoes filled with *popoi*, and all kinds of fruits. The feasting, chanting, and the gay costuming are further described. Garcia writes that at this festival thanks were given for the abundant harvest. Unfortunately he gives no details concerning rites or offerings of first fruits. That such offerings constituted an important part of the *ko'ina tapavau*, I feel certain, basing this opinion on the customs elsewhere in Polynesia, but I have no direct evidence on this point. Garcia goes on to speak of Lupercalian rites associated with other festivals (doubtless referring to the memorial festivals). I infer that there was not the general abandon at the time of the celebration of the *ko'ina tapavau*.

CANNIBALISTIC FEASTS

796 The *ko'ina heana* followed war, celebrating the capture of human vic-
266 tims. The victims that were to be offered to the gods—that is, those that

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

SPORTS AND GAMES

STILT WALKING

The form of stilts (*vaeake* or *tapu vae; hoki* on Ua Huka, *titoko* on Ua Pou) is shown in the accompanying sketch (fig. 27, *d*). The stilts with the elaborately carved foot-rests were undoubtedly those used ceremonially. Anciently stilts were made of *mi'o* or casuarina by professional stilt-makers (*tuhuna vaeake*). According to Linton they were "decorated with white tapa covered by ornamental lashings of red and black sennit (20). Those used for play by boys were doubtless made of *fau*, as are the stilts that boys amuse themselves with today—the foot-rests of these consist of a notched piece of wood lashed to the shaft.

The use of stilts was strictly forbidden to women. Contests between champions of tribes constituted the central feature of one of the great memorial feasts for the dead (see Festivals). The mode of conducting the contests is described in connection with that feast. A woman who had witnessed such a contest described the men of the opposing parties as filing into the dance area in two long lines. Langsdorff (18, pp. 136, 168-169) gives the following descriptions:

> The best runners on stilts, who perform at the public dancing festivals, are tabooed three days before; they do not, in consequence, go out, are well fed, and have no intercourse with their wives. This is probably with a view to increasing their strength.
>
> At their great public festivals they run in this way for wagers, in which each tries to cross the other, and throw him down; if this is accomplished, the person thrown becomes the laughing-stock of the whole company. We were the more astonished at the dexterity shown by them as they run on the dancing-place, which, being paved with smooth stones, must greatly increase the difficulty.

Boys today do a sort of dance on stilts, standing alternately on one and then the other foot and clapping the upper and lower ends of the free shaft against the ends of that holding the weight. I have been told that in the ancient days men used to be able to turn a sommersault, rotating the body heels-over-head. The shafts of the stilts were always held in the hand, never bound to the legs.

LANCE-THROWING

The sport called *teka* consisted in glancing light lances from the ground, with the object of attaining the greatest distance. The lance (*teka* or *tekao*) used was a pointed reed stem (*kakaho*) from one to two yards in length. The course would be any open and level roadway that offered a long enough straight-away. Two round-topped mounds (*uma*) a few

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

BOXING AND TRIALS OF STRENGTH

Dordillon (8) gives a number of terms for boxing (*kotehe*) and boxer (*makeruru, tepe, umoto, kere*); but, so far as I could ascertain, this sport was not practiced to any great extent by the natives in ancient times. Modern natives show little aptitude for it when matched against Tahitians. Melville wrote (23, p. 260) with reference to boxing that "The noble art of self-defence appeared to be regarded by them as the peculiar gift of the white man." Wrestling seems not to have been practiced as a sport.

FIGURE 27.—Games and dancing: *a*, a dancer's pleated skirt (after Christian, p. 128); *b*, trial of strength (*hemohemo*); *c*, form of the native kite; *d*, drawing of a carved stilt (after Edge-Partington and Heape, Series I, p. 42, No. 1).

In the game called *hemohemo* (*hemo*, to catch), two men or boys would sit opposite each other with right arms crooked and resting on right knees, grasping each other's right hands. The contest was a trial of strength, each attempting to force downward or outward the arm of the other. (See fig. 27, *b*.)

WATER SPORTS

Swimming (*kau*, to swim), practically never indulged in by modern adult natives, is described best for us by Langsdorff (18, pp. 169-170):

> The dexterity of these people in swimming is another thing that excited no small astonishment in us. It is not easy to conceive . . . how men have accustomed themselves half to live in the water. They seem to be able to do just as they please there: they will remain nearly in the same place for a long time together, as if they were standing upright, so that the head and shoulders are above the water, guiding themselves solely by the feet. They will shell and eat a coconut in the water, or bring a number of things for barter tied together at the end of a stick, which they hold up high above the water, to keep them from being wetted. I have seen them swim with little children on their shoulders, or throw themselves from steep high rocks into the sea; and they would much rather swim over a creek than go a step around to get to

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

526 481 the other side. Some of them would swim about the ship for the greatest part of the day, without ever appearing tired. Mufau . . . has of his own accord run up the main-mast many times together, and thrown himself from it into the sea, to the great astonishment of the spectators. . . . It was impossible to see, without equal shuddering and astonishment, how he would spring from such a height, and balance himself in the air for some seconds with his feet drawn up against his body, so as to keep his head up: from the force of the fall, and the great weight of his body, he came with so violent a plunge into the water, that several seconds elapsed before he appeared again upon its surface.

Surf riding (*hoko*) was a sport for men, women, and children, where there were beaches that made it possible. Surf riders never stood erect as in Hawaii. The surfboard was called *papa a'a tai*. Dordillon gives *pakoao* as a term used for an amusement participated in by two people, one being borne inshore on the crest of a breaker while another person, coming from the shore, passed under him.

CHILDREN'S GAMES

524 Top spinning (*niu patu*) was a favorite pastime of boys. It seems that in ancient times tops (*niu*) were spun both by whipping and with a cord. In the story of Pohu it is recounted how Pohu won a top-spinning contest with his top, which was named Te-niu-to'o-i-Fiti.

In the same story other competitions are mentioned, such as stilt walking, drum beating, and playing musical instruments. Another game of boys was kite flying. Kites (*pako*) were made of bark cloth in the form shown in figure 27, *c*. Boys amused themselves by shooting shrimps and small fish in holes with small bows (*pana*) and bamboo darts (*koke*), and put in much time also in practicing with the sling and spear, and at the games played by the men (*vaeake, teka, kaokao*).

Langsdorff (18, pp. 172-173) describes the following game:

> Under the title of playthings may be mentioned one which consists of a stick about a foot long and an inch thick. A hole is bored in it at one end, through which is run a peg five or six inches in length, and at the point of the peg is struck a little ball of cocoa thread. The stick is then struck with another, so that the ball is thrown up into the air, and the dexterity of the thing is to catch it again upon the point of the peg.

Children of both sexes amused themselves by walking on half coconut-shells. The foot was placed on the convex surface. A string, which was attached to the shell, passed up between the toes and was held taut in the hands. Another child's game, called *pohutu*, was played with small balls made of *fau* leaves rolled up and bound with strips of pandanus. These were swung on a cord and batted with the hand. The balls made in this way were also used in the game called *pei*, which is described sepa-

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

with high hopes, many stories, and none for the good of the natives.

The Adelantado said to the Vicar and Chaplain that they were to chant the "*Te Deum laudamus*" with all the people on their knees, and that they should give thanks to God for the mercy of sighting land. This was done with great devotion.

On the following day, with doubt whether that island was inhabited, the ships were steered to the south of it, and very near the coast. From a point under a peaked hill towards the eastern end, there came out seventy small canoes, not all the same size, made of one piece of wood, with outriggers of cane on each side, after the manner of the gunwales of galleys, which reach to the water on which they press to prevent the canoe from capsizing, and all their paddles rowing. The least number they had in a canoe was three, the greatest ten, some swimming, and others hanging on—altogether, four hundred natives, almost white, and of very graceful shape, well-formed, robust, good legs and feet, hands with long fingers; good eyes, mouth, and teeth, and the same with the other features. Their skin was clear, showing them to be a strong and healthy race, and indeed robust. They all came naked, without any part covered; their faces and bodies in patterns of a blue colour, painted with fish and other patterns. Their hair was like that of women, very long and loose, some had it twisted, and they themselves gave it turns. Many of them were ruddy. They had beautiful youths who, for a people barbarous and naked, it was certainly pleasant to see; and they had much cause to praise their Creator.

Among them there was a boy, who appeared to be about ten years of age.[1] He came rowing in a canoe with

[1] Suarez de Figueroa says it was a girl.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

829 them as a being superior to themselves, but our weaknesses and passions have served to convince them that we are, like them, human. Yet in the comparison, every thing in their opinion marks our superiority.

174 Haii was, no doubt, some navigator, who, near four centuries ago, left the aforesaid animals among the natives. Our accounts of voyages made into this sea do not extend so far back, and even if they did, we should be at a loss to know him by the name given to him by the natives. They found it impossible to pronounce our names distinctly, even after the utmost pains to teach them, and the most repeated trials on their part. They gave me the name of *Opotee*, which was the nearest they could come to Porter. Mr. Downes was called *Onou*; Lieutenant Wilmer, *Wooreme*; Lieutenant M'Knight, *Muschectie*, and the name of every one else underwent an equal change. These names we were called by, and answered to, so long as we remained with them; and it is not improbable that we shall be so called in their traditionary accounts. If there should be no other means of handing our names down to posterity, it is likely we shall be as little known to future navigators as *Haii* is to us. Although we know not the navigator who, at that early period, (it is possible, however, that there may be some error in the chronology of the natives) visited these islands, yet we cannot be so much at a loss to discover the nation to which he belonged. The natives call a hog *bouarku*, or rather *Pouarka*; and it is likely that they still retain the name nearly by which they were first known to them. The Spaniards call a hog *porca*, giving it a sound very little different from that used by the natives of these islands; and as the Spaniards were the earliest navigators in these seas, there is scarcely a doubt that they are indebted to one of that nation for so precious a gift.

245 481 The cocoa-nuts grow in great abundance in every valley of the island, and are cultivated with much care. This tree is too well known to need a description; yet the mode used to propagate it may not be uninteresting. As the cocoa-nuts become ripe, they are carefully collected from the tree, which is ascended by means of a slip of strong bark, with which they make their feet fast a little above the ankles, leaving them about a foot asunder. They then grasp the tree with their arms, feet, and knees, and the strip of bark resting on the rough projections of the bark of the tree, prevents them from slipping down. In this manner, by alternately shifting their feet and hands, they ascend with great apparent ease and rapidity the highest tree, whence they send 245 down the fruit, which is then hung together in bunches to a 251 cocoa-nut tree, situated near their dwelling, at a sufficient height from the ground to place them in perfect security. Here they

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

arrived, with presents of fruit. There were also many islanders swimming round the vessel with fruit, which they wished to dispose of: there were women amongst them; but it was signified to them, that I had resolved to admit none of their sex on board till the ship should be ready for sea, and at sun-set they swam back with the rest. 1804. May.

The next day, as soon as it was light, we were surrounded by a still greater multitude of these people. There were now a hundred females at least; and they practised all the arts of lewd expression and gesture, to gain admission on board. It was with difficulty I could get my crew to obey the orders I had given on this subject. Amongst these females were some not more than ten years of age. But youth, it seems, is here no test of innocence; these infants, as I may call them, rivalled their mothers in the wantonness of their motions and the arts of allurement.

About seven o'clock the traffic for cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, bananas, and different articles of curiosity, began, and was continued briskly till noon. Of the three first commodities, I obtained a considerable quantity, at a cheap rate, giving only, for seven nuts, and a bunch of bananas and bread-fruit, a piece of an old iron hoop, not more than five inches long. At eight o'clock two canoes arrived, with the king in one, and his uncle in the other. They brought with them four pigs, which they wished to exchange for two of our English sheep; but finding me averse to this, the canoes took them back on their return. I offered, as a present to the king, some axes, knives, and other articles; but he would only take a striped cap, observing, as he

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

ARTICLES USED IN GAMES

481 526 This section includes the various objects which were used by the natives in their sports and amusements. The best known and most striking of these toys are the stilts.

STILTS

Marquesan stilts are made in two parts, a shaft and a step. A modern stilt is illustrated on Plate LXVIII, *A*. The shaft consists of a round pole of some light wood, usually fau, with a diameter of 2 to 3 inches and a length of 5 to 7 feet. In the best made specimens the upper end is carved into a rounded grip. The stilt shafts are carved with simple designs.

For convenience in description the step may be considered as having two parts, a long lower section, which rests against the shaft, and a projecting upper portion or foot rest. In an average specimen the lower section is 9½ inches long, with a width of 1¾ inches at the upper end and one inch at the lower end. The inner side is slightly concave, to fit the stilt shaft, the concavity being deepest at the top. The foot rest in the shape of a broad hook, with a strongly convex outer, and slightly convex inner surface, and a rounded end.

532 481 526 In the commonest type of ancient stilt steps (Pl. LXVIII, *B*, 2) the space between the lower section and the foot rest is bridged by a small human figure, its buttocks and legs carved in high relief upon the lower section, while its head rests against the foot rest.

The whole effect is that of an Atlantid or Caryatid. The space behind the body of the figure is pierced and serves as an eye through which the lashings are passed. These figures are carved in compliance with the ordinary tiki convention, with a disproportionately large head, short arms, and short flexed legs. The face shows the usual spectacle eyes, scroll ear, flat nose and broad mouth, and the top of the head is encircled by a narrow band bearing simple incised designs. The arms are shown either at the sides, with the hands resting upon the stomach, or raised on either side of the head as if to help support the weight of the foot rest. Most bodies show slight modeling, the line of the collar bone and the nipples and navel being indicated. The entire body and limbs are usually covered with shallow grooves, arranged to conform to the contours, while similar grooves in either straight or geometric patterns, cover both the inner and outer surfaces of the footrest.

In a specimen in the Peabody Museum of Cambridge a whale's tooth pendant from a cord is carved in low relief around the neck of the figure.

There were a number of variations from this form of step. Two figures carved back to back were often used with their sides against the step, or two figures were placed one above the other, the lowest carved in high relief, while the body of the upper figure was in the round. In this design the upper figure was frequently represented as kneeling (Pl. LXVIII, *B*, 1). A specimen in the Bishop Museum is decorated with two superposed figures of rather fantastic form, and has flat tiki faces carved on the foot rest. (Pl. LXVIII, *B*, 3). The space behind the figures is pierced. This specimen is obviously modern and unused, and it seems probable that it is a degenerate example made for sale.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The step was attached to the shaft by sennit lashings passed around both, one set of these lashings covering the space behind the tiki figure while the second set of lashings encircled the step below it. The shaft was wrapped with tapa at the point where the step was attached. Black and red sennit are said to have been used for the lashings and it is probable that the strands were laid on in ornamental designs. The stilts were used in the ordinary European way, the instep of the foot resting against the shaft. The upper end of the shaft was grasped in the hand and lifted at each step.

The ancient Marquesans are said to have been unusually expert stilt walkers, running races over smooth pavements and engaging in knocking down contests. Native boys now engage in these contests. The antagonists face one another and, balancing on one stilt, extend the other stilt and make a quick swinging blow at the bottom of the enemy's stilt, recovering instantly. The sport continues until one or the other falls.

In view of the mountainous nature of the country, and the lack of soft or even level ground, it seems impossible that stilts could have been developed locally. They were used in Hawaii, the Society Islands and New Zealand, but do not appear to have been used in Samoa or Tonga. It seems safe, therefore, to consider them as a feature of the marginal, as opposed to the western Polynesian culture.

COCONUT SHELLS

Small children frequently walk on coconut shells in solitary play. This sport is possibly related to stilt walking. From the numerous half shells thrown out by the kitchen the child selects two of equal size which are from the stem end of the nut. He then passes a loop of string through the eyes and inserts the big toe of either foot between the sides of the loops, holding the upper ends in his hands. In walking he lifts the shells by the loop at each step. The game seems to be a solitary one, the child stamping back and forth over the pavement of the house *paepae* and enjoying the clatter.

DARTS

One of the most important Marquesan games was dart throwing, called *teka*. This game is still occasionally played, and a few of the darts were seen.

The darts are made from straight pieces of upland reed or from hard wood switches and are about four feet long and one-half inch thick at the head. They are prepared simply by stripping off the leaves.

In playing the game a level open place is chosen.

A small round mound of hard earth is built, and the darts are thrown against this in such a way that they glance up and on down the course. The dart which travels farthest is the winner. The darts are sometimes thrown with a card (*aho*) which is a thin string, knotted at one end. One end is wrapped once around the dart near its center, being held in place by the tension at the knot, while the other end of the throwing cord is wraped around the first finger, and the shaft grasped with the rest of the hand, keeping the cord taut. When the dart is thrown the cord causes it to rotate, making it fly straighter.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

481
592

STILTS: *A*, WOODEN STILTS; *B*, DECORATED STILT STEPS, FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS.

[end plate 29]

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Designs on Chisel Handles

The collection of Marquesan objects in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum includes two chisels with carved handles. The four design elements or motifs employed in their decoration are: single triangles filled with V's, interlocking triangles filled with lines parallel to one side, concentric diamonds, and a single crude tiki face. Both carved handles are models and may not be true representatives. 531 X

Designs on Stilts

The shafts of the stilts used in Marquesan games are undecorated, but the steps of the stilts are commonly carved (22, Pl. LXVIII, *B*). The principal decoration on the three specimens in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum are tiki figures carved in the round. In addition to these figures there are straight horizontal interlocking grooves of diagonal lines, such as are used on the house posts, herring-bone, zigzags, scolloped lines, interlocking triangles filled with V's, single triangles filled with V's, groups of four triangles meeting at their apexes, staggared crosses, broad hooks, *kaake*, curved spirals, segments of concentric ovals and combs. Of these the staggared cross is the most common. [481]●

Designs on Pakea

The Marquesan *pakea* is a crown made up of curved plaques of tortoise shell carved on the concave surface and separated by strips of a white shell, all attached to a headband of sennit. There are also carved celluloid plaques made of materials brought by white traders. [293]

Each plaque has at least one tiki face displayed as the central design. On some plaques complete tiki figures are used as a border design; on others half of a face forms the unit of design. There seems to be no uniformity in arrangement or choice of border design. The predominant angular geometric patterns include: straight horizontal lines, straight longitudinal lines, herring-bone, zigzags, interlocking triangles in which one row of triangles is plain and the opposite row is filled with V's, groups of four triangles meeting at their apexes, segments of concentric rectangles, diamonds filled with angular spirals, rectangular spirals, hook scrolls, and staggared crosses. The single example of a checkerwork unit consists of a central square and four other squares placed at the four corners (Pl. IV, *b*), all included in a space one-fourth inch wide and five-sixteenths inch long.

The few curvilinear patterns noted include segments of concentric circles and ovals, broad hooks, *kaake*, combs, and the palm leaf.